624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]

[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´i, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

624 The official proclaimer was hile´t:ts, a
786 term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem, just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hilet:ts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hilet:s should not be in the clowning category.

624 Another man who was not a tribal official but had a specific function was pine´w:ts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of
● [787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The
622 title of the chief is diya. A male chief is described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquin Robert was the nutuwuta chief in the rancheria

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[59] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60] Handbook, 497.

[P. 276]

616 622 A village was not necessarily ruled by two chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Telweyit, might have three. At Telweyit there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

F776 787 Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hutulu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 316]

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tip: 'kn:ts (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on
756 Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (ko 'l̩at) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called an: 'ẅal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true, authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

756 then he would dream of the creature. When he arose he ate and drank nothing but tobacco. He absented himself from home, walking about during the daytime. If possible he went to a pond of water where some supernatural animals might come out and talk to him. He did not have to take jimsonweed.

616 Moiety affiliations do not limit the walaṭ talismans secured through dreams: thus Cooper's
756 hawk (pohiyon) can be dreamt of by anybody. So could the ground owl (wetiṭi), who was so commonly a shaman's helper "that people didn't know which side [moiety] he belonged on." Other owls were definitely Nutuwich, so that "if a Tokelyuwich person dreamt about owl, he'd think a Nutuwich doctor was talking about him." Such a dream visitor might even be recognized as a specific person's helper.

756 Those persons who did not want to possess ṭ:pni (supernatural power) even for private use had to be respectful to a supernatural visitation when it came onsought. J.A. declared herself such. When a young woman she ate tobacco but dreamed nothing in result. She was a little fearful of power and really did not want it.

756 One night a white spider (kolok: ʻlwoi metsa) bit her. She threw it away but it came back to her. The spider said, "you are going
187 to dance in [at?] the fire." She replied, "No, I wouldn't do that. Om na ṭ:pni (I am not ṭ:pni). Don't bother me. I'm just a plain person."

Last year (1926) she dreamed an old man said to her, "I'd like you to be tiya." He offered her a big basket. J.A. did not want it, returned it to the old man. This man was remembering that her father's brother had been a chief. They argued for a bit, but J.A. maintained her negation. However, "she got sick later on because she didn't believe this," i.e., she made no prayerful or grateful response, had not thought of it as a supernatural dream.

A short time ago she dreamed that her present son-in-law [brother of her daughter's first husband] came and wanted to marry [?] Belle. He stood behind the door. Then he kicked J.A. over each eye. She woke up. She went to sleep again and dreamed that she was praying. Her daughter Belle stood there pointing to heaven "because some kind of devil was after her." When J.A. awoke in the morning she decided that this dream had no supernatural significance, that "there was nothing to it," that she and Belle were both good and did no one harm. She said to herself:

om na heuto ʻho
not I prostitute, (to go around)

om na lowai ʻtna
not I male sexual partner

hina ʻ na na ʻas toṭi
happy I, I not bad

om na ʻas heho ʻna topo ʻlṭi
not I to-get-rich genitals-by

756 787 [548] Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well. [A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

756 787 778 The man who accepted dream help and wished to become a professional shaman continued his fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time. He secured walat, the talismans of his dream helper: they might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walaṭ always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with t·pni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walaṭ, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walaṭ kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walaṭ of the Chunut is identical with the ai ´n·tc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana ´twal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ain·tc), the lake people the second part (walaṭ).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

278 753 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar; this was called mɛ·ts añta·wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɛ·ná·l, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and ṭ·pni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated [787] objects and burned them--for instance, a person 828 in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by ṭ·pni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and [683] died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, T·pwa·tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo·ndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in T·pwatswats' coffee. Soon after

[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

[P. 38b]

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po ´kto). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 756] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai ´nawaš, "to have roots"). These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

[752] Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

> The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

> The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta ´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.
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> The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking
● [787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

● 787 276 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the [756] invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 276 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of [752] jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

[P. 49a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal US22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo'pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

[808] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati'sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu'ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo''no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

[P. 1029] Wukchumni

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that [343] delivery took place in a private hut. If the separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či''up, či''up, či''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

[787] The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

561 hiam pahata mukɨs: growing girl, 8 to 10 years
hiam pahata wu'h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years
goi'yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years
witɨp mi'tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years
hiam pahata mitač mukɨs: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years
pahata gu'tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)
moho'do gu'tum: old man, 50 or over
modo''o mu'kɨs: old woman, past childbearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 787 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 776 778 When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

[P. 1094] Wukchumni

787 776 778 [237] dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream helper, which was usually an animal or bird. He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

[788] All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, tapni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

[237 432] If a man wanted to live long or wished for other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

[423] No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).

A [including the puberty and initiation (Pearson)] Analyst

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787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there [where his body was] but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

"What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
787 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the
778 supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

756 Although theoretically any one might seek
778 power by this means, and the dream was its only
787 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ənl.

[776] The dream helper was called ai'nič (from ana ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

787 Supernatural power (tapni) bestowed by the
778 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai''ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainič was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

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787
778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought
778 in the following ways. Although J.P.'s examples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal
756 might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as
776 dream helpers are formulated in the following comments by informants. These powers are those
825 randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

787 776 825 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija hajɨt) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu'du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 778 All shamans had a collection of talismans, which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he [764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like [237] plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭɨpni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and [753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

539 778 825 1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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756 located, Čoiš·ău (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 776 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain·c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake; [752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 789 776 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 789 237 5. The power of flying, known to northern neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 787 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

756 7. J.B. accused Čokoni:k, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokoni:k used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (aini:č). He was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
[304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
● 787 "Hello, napaš [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokoni:k of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for breakfast. Haičača continued this routine until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho·toi), [778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ain·č), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ain·č) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing [754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

756 At about this time Haičača's mother's cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

756 Haičača became a good doctor; "he never hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P., of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

11. The only case known to my informants
546 of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
825 of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter" (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[964]

[964] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ʻ lkʻn. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epʻs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho´no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

● 787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman. J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. [756] "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 825 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

5335 5. aiyama´t:n na pa´n:n
539 worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´y:n do´mto pan:n aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 883 Another dance or game was described most incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 262 276 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking (tañá´y:n; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 767 276 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra supernatural power might take it each year, or
787 every few years, provided he observed the usual
276 tabus. A man who desired special power was not differentiated from other participants during the ritual but behaved and was treated like the novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
276 how to administer the drink safely and who was of good character, i.e., "who had never killed anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man" (M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it
[262] was announced twelve days in advance by a winatum. Thereafter the participants drank only thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers
[603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices went to the leader and arranged the details of their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš·šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[268] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
276 the youths to pay attention to what they would
787 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

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[268] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the
276 time they were expected to awake several women
533 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi·	uka´naka tańa´ya	lu´lhe'	lula´lhe'
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
276 able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
755 person would come, give the drinker a feather bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
276 said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
787 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

[P. 1196] Wukchumni.

796 276 787 754 It was said that an evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would try to render the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

796 276 On the twelfth day after the ritual a general celebration took place. The children dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

796 584 884 This little feast provided an occasion for betrothal if any families cared to take advantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 757 [262] Jimsonweed was well known as an anaesthetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound [752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about Lɨmɨk [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 648 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki ʼi), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni ʼa); crying ritual (aha ʼna); washing ritual, either at

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 149 b] Choinimni

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono·č:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In [683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana·ʻtsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en·ʻt:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən) was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to; P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

Ghosts frequently caused sickness called hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wis.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwis (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

756 791 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24] who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 765 Pleasure dance.--A dance (he´šiš na´mit) performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešiš namit dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wit) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Si´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 276 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But [787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭ'ánpni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi'te luni'ša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent [616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni'ša) lasted for a six-day week called ču'lipi laka'n.
535 The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mːs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pːs [262] (lake trout), poi´yəm (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hːt (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´năš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čː´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´yːn) at bedrock 412 mortars (tinːl), using a large pestle (če'; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nːm (ti´pːn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called ŏo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kːlao, pipe of cane [sikːl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.--

● [787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wːš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cexː´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 501 285 484 Ferrying.---Everyone was a good swimmer, but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin River, which is swift and deep. For this purpose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wːč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 158 bJ Dumna

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
276 the decoction they ceased eating and drinking entirely. Then when they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[752 B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed
187] as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.---"No one up this way made it; Co·kon·k and Pusi·l·n are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

● 787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

[P. 159 a] Dumna

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

173 Then he continued his narrative:

649 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text Continues Top of Page 159b, ---- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

649 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would [826]

[Text Continues bottom P. 159b]

[797] "B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[46] Gayton and Newman, 28.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [742] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by
184 people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning [887] to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a'sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo'gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči'na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke'wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good
481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta'okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [209] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

the door and calling on the name of his father or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed to have belonged, and the door opened. Within were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins -- all valuable things. He could take anything he wanted from the left side of the enclosure. The right side was filled with articles that belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and these "had too much power." They served as guardians of the place, for their power would kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a stranger should succeed in entering the pački, he would be afraid to take anything as he would not know which ones he could safely touch [sic] (see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had acquired much power, his helpers might tell him to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doctor did that he would get mean and care no more for people or being a good doctor."

Procedure.---A man who wanted to become a shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on. When a supernatural helper visited him in a dream, he rose and went out into the hills, where he "lay down to dream some more." The dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to him, gave him a song and instructions about curing, and told him what talismans to use. The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking prayerfully to his assistant. As the man dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals" came more readily, so he was often away for days at a time. It would be said of such a man, "pana ´n:t a ´m:n časa ´šti (coming his helper; če ´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was there too, and the animals opened the pački, telling him to enter. He stayed in there four days. No one at home knew where he was, and often people went out in search of him. While he was in the pački the animals told him what to do. They gave him more songs and danced with him all night. They gave him his regalia: "this just appeared on him, nobody knew where it came from." Later on, when he needed more things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he would go back to the pački to get them. At the end of four days the animals sent him out, but instead of going home he remained in the hills two more days [total, six]. The animals instructed him to do this as "he would die" if he went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announcing the beginning of his career. He did not again dream of his helpers but called on them when he needed their aid.

Shaman's debut.---When a man felt that his power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

[P. 190 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.---The term for sickness in general was toi ʻyoti·yaš he ʻba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai ʻhu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Cokonːk sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 755 Consumption, sane ʻnaš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

753

769 755 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu ʻki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was tːpni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 157 273 E.M.'s brother, Hai'aiʻːč, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku mič (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ič was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and [764] brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipit, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipit fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

●787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

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787 756 Plain people who did not seek to become doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

787 It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana'tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

[777] It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

828 774 787 E.M. could not define the nature of dream experience. She knew of no word for soul, did not recognize the concept. She willingly related the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

787 1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

755 796 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai ʼʼi kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall (tomo ʼksiu to ʼbxːn, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

[778] The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (ču') and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

[70] P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

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BELIEFS

773 825 Wainus.---This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

[756]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.---Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.---E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.---When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 956 535 Pleasure dance.---This dance (h:č: ´ŏna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

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said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Goh·l and another Bear dancer named Jo´n·š do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´načı) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokon·k's daughter, who sometimes danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Goh·l turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'·č, another Bear dancer.)

Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokon·k do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

276 took about one week to dry out on rocks.[116] This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 887 [574] Old people made a practice of eating tobacco and lime frequently. They would gather at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

[787] [171] [116]Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater, Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

[P. 194 b] Chuckchansi

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about [177] 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55 60] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, [602] the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [593] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether [861] they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their 887 young relatives how to do things. Particularly, old people taught songs and stories.

● 787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated [582] to accept the union. Actual marriage did not take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
534 They evidenced grief by playing the musical
765 bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.
825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
●787 woman is dying.

825 A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[804] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people
825 thought the dead turned into birds and animals. [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

[787] Then he told them, talked a little while, not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further [431] stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they [184 should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the 420] extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131]P. 387.

[132]Ibid., 385.

illness without cutting, and those who resorted to cutting to accomplish the same end. Curing shamans treated such things as snake bites and bruises, as well as illnesses caused by ghosts or intrusion of objects "shot" by shamans, or other ailments due to obscure causes. Broken bones were bandaged [by a shaman ?] but "they [shamans] would not try to do something about that" [by sucking]. Kroeber states that the Chukchansi shaman was called teish, "maker"; possibly this term applied to the rain shaman rather than the doctor.[144]

Acquisition of curing power came through dreaming of a supernatural helper, usually an animal. Any animal might direct a shaman: "They believe in all kinds of animals -- snake, bear, squirrels, coyotes." The animal came unsought and sang a song; if the dreamer accepted the offer of power, he sang the song himself. The repetition of the song formed a bond, so to say, whereby the man and the tutelary became subject to each other's power. The animal was subject in the sense that his living counterpart of the fields -- snake, weasel, coyote, etc. -- was controlled by the shaman. But an offended or perhaps capricious tutelary could cause the empowered man to act against his better feelings (thus Xatali and his victimized grandchildren). On the other hand, said N.W., "A doctor might dream he would have to tell a snake to go bite someone, and the snake would have to do it." This informant tended to lay the blame for a doctor's social activities upon the tutelary, once a man fell under its control: "That is the way Indian doctors do; if they didn't listen, they wouldn't have anything like that happen." Even today dream helpers appear, but the young people do not want to accept them. Neither are they willing to propitiate with gifts the few remaining shamans. However, N.W. said she would [does ?] because she "wants to live just as long as they do."

N.W. herself knows the temptation from an animal helper's offer for she was repeatedly importuned by a gopher snake.

A large gopher snake about four or five inches thick appeared to N.W. every night for about a week. And each day, wherever she went -- to pick wild onions or do anything -- she would see him. But each time she said "No"; she did not want to be a doctor. Every time she pounded acorns he would whistle at her. He was on a rock she was sitting on. She would pick up her pestle and look around for the creature but she always looked in the wrong place. Every time she lifted her pestle he would whistle; he did this about three times. She turned and looked up the hill instead of at the rock where she was sitting. Right then he whistled again. Then she looked down and saw him. She reached for a handful of acorn

[144] Handbook, 511; see also p. 516 for a further reference to Chukchansi shamans.

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meal, threw it in the snake's face and told him to go home. She then filled up his hole with stones "so he couldn't come out again."

That night she dreamed again of the gopher snake. He sang a song and told her to sing it. It was very pretty, but she resisted. The snake was angry and demanded that she give him her children [the two living ones]. Then N.W. told him to go away, not to ask her anything again "no matter how good a song he sang." Next night when she went to sleep she didn't dream; the snake did not bother her again.

If she had listened to the snake she would have lost all her children. "That is the way Indian doctors do. If they didn't listen they wouldn't have anything like that [injuring others] happen. Coyote made Xatali do things because of dreams. He dreamed it and he had to do it."

Dreams were not sought. The majority of people did not want them and hence did not attempt to secure supernatural power [as was done by Yokuts to the south]. "It just happened. You dreamed and the animal sang something pretty and then made you sing it." N.W. liked the song sung to her, too, and wanted to sing it, but the gopher snake "asked her for her children right away so she said no." Had he not been so precipitous with the evil demand, she probably would have sung it. Then she would have been in his power. He would have shown her how to do things "just like you show a little girl how to do embroidery or crocheting."

An animal helper for supernatural power was obtained through dreaming, said J.R. It was as if one saw them with his own eyes, but one saw them with his heart [sic; soul. -- A.H.G.]. The dream usually came near dawn. When it left, the dreamer wakened at once and, following the animal's [stereotyped] instructions, went to bathe in cold water -- the creek or some spring. This would be about the time the morning star appeared. The man went to the water and there began a prayerful discourse, saying that he believed all that the animal had told him, asking that the tutelary would continue his dream visitations and that he, the protégé, would be a good shaman. If all went well, the dream animal returned every night for about a month, perhaps a little more or sometimes less.

No person told the novice anything: his dream helper told him everything. He would learn the song the animal sang. Later, when the man had learned more and understood better, he too would sing it. When he had learned all that was possible, the tutelary would tell him so. Then he could go out publicly, perhaps to some ceremony, and sing. This he would do at a chief's request, for it was no secret that he had been acquiring power by dreaming. When there were many people present, the man would sing his song. After that, after all the

756 people heard him sing, everybody would know he
787 was a doctor.

The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

787 A man became a fine deer hunter by dream-
224 ing of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a certain man to be a good deer hunter, they
825 would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

787 M.W. said he had an aunt who received
825 power from Deer. Once when she was a young girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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787 825 756 A doctor's animal helper was a living one, not a spiritual representative. He could not kill any animal of that breed. One actual animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people dreamed in this way but opined that they might, especially if they "believed that way." "The Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 778 556 The shaman's cache was attributed only to rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she described concerning it and the dangerous nature of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to those held by other Yokuts groups. According to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a large rock. He would talk to the rock, which would open so he could get his things. Each doctor had his own place; his things would be in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he had created by means of his power. The opening thereto was not palpable to others: "You could go over that rock a thousand times and not find the place." If an ordinary person wants to [788] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safeguard himself by rubbing his hands with wormweed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 682 278 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was made by some people who knew the secrets. Once someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hanging on a clothesline. When she put on the dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person with it. L.W. would have to do it or she herself would die [at the poisoner's hands ?]. Even today these people [poisoners] are feared although no poisonings have occurred "since a long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a living rain shaman, although dreaming was an essential part of success. A father usually taught one of his sons and left him his outfit when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at [787] O'Neals who made rain.[345] N.W. saw him when he was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[345] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water, then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetx, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

There were shamans who had learned from their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
789 the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.J.

Jimsonweed

276 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed
756 (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
276 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just
756 like marijuana. You see things other people
787 can't see. When a doctor wants to see something away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a little basket; they sang, "I am going to drink you, t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk and fell down. But while they slept, they saw with their hearts [souls] things which no one else could see.

At Ahwahnee, in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take jimsonweed. He came from Wawona. He did not want to lie down while under the

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276 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to himself. He said that he had seen his mother take
756 it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit
787 there, see something, know something, talk to herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

He had never heard of any ordinary person, [887] especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

The information above corroborates [184] Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

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The Transvestite

The male transvestite (tono č:m, Michahai; tai ´yap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonoč:m figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

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Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

na ´na hua ´čiči: newborn boy
hu ´pi hua ´čiči: newborn girl
na ´načı: boy about two years old
si ´i ´sačı: girl about two years old
hua ´wuha na ´načı (or si ´isačı): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na ´nop na ´načı: boy five to ten years old
hu ´u ´pi mo ´nanop: girl five to ten years old
moa ´bi na ´nop: youth twelve to twenty years old

doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (tɨ́ pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai ́nɨč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

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the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

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12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

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The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

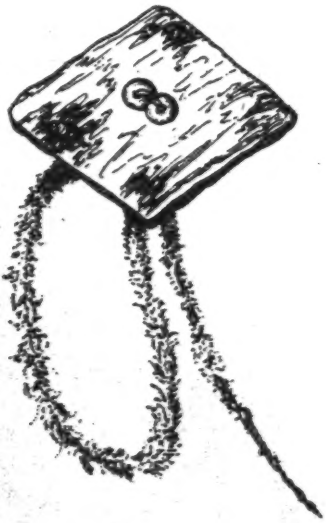

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Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

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so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

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The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainič. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tá·pni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

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As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha·bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has <u>all</u> dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

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[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

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dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[175] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe·wia nü u·bun:t, Waksachi).

Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t:pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

[175] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

WY 755 dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

WY 756 627 If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

WY 787 276 755 1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

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S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (piseŝan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "M·ĉk·t [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

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2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ain·č (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine."

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S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

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3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

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One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

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·hunai ´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi´am na mum taw:´nši
now I am sorry

hunu´mšu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [:niša´man wa·ni'i´nwa toiyo ni; :nsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

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4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

W Y 787 "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

778 To accept a dream of this type, i.e., getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

W Y 756 778 787 5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competitive amount of t·pni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the person addressed replied in kind, "It is you who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year (hibernation period), he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he <u>was</u> following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

(That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.)

Flying Power

W Y 791 789 A special type of power, that of jumping or "flying" through space for a considerable

[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama´mac pa´'anac na mum ia´'ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate.

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk.

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened.

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray.

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The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days. When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna, among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat differently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medicine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

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the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal.

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor."

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year.

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own.

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

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Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

Whose is this fish to shoot?
Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wacham* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never left the earth. This is his song:

The other says: Run in the brush;
Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki.

A bear doctor's song:

Again he comes,
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him:

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable.

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked

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323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the [174] pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 171 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katawish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief and other important members of the tribe, including sometimes the medicine man. Among some tribes the drinking took place in the open after the talk by the chief.

Immediately after the drinking of the tea, which was very bitter and often caused repeated vomiting, necessitating the drinking of large quantities of it, the young initiate was given into the care of some old and respected member of the tribe. It is said by some Indians that this man was generally selected by the father of the boy because of some attachment which the boy had formed for him. He became a sort of godfather or counselor. This relationship often continued throughout life. It is said by early American settlers that, before entering into a bargain, it was not uncommon to see a Yokuts seventy-five years of age go for advice to his godfather, who was ninety.

When given into the charge of this godfather the boy was taken into the hills beyond, or along a stream, and watched over and counseled until the period of stupefaction had passed away. This is known to have lasted several days. During this time the initiate was instructed in the tradition and history of his tribe and was given such advice and instruction as was calculated would make him a good citizen among his people.

Among some tribes this ceremony was the most elaborate of any they performed. Ceremonial equipment of the most spectacular kind was exhibited to the young tribesmen. This equipment was often never seen by him again and was calculated to impress him with the importance of his duty to the tribe.

The visions produced during this exhibition, due to the nature of the narcotic taken, undoubtedly created a deep impression and lasted throughout life. I have in my possession three large spear points which are thought to have been a part of such initiation equipment. The largest is approximately eleven inches in length and two inches in width. The smallest is about nine inches in length. These would undoubtedly have been wrapped in protecting moss and buckskin and given to the care of the property man of the tribe, who guarded them between the times of their use.

It is of interest to know that even the seeds of the Jimson Weed were thought by the Yokuts to have supernatural power. The seed would keep off sickness and prevent bad dreams. I have in my historical collection a necklace of these dry seeds made in 1932 by a Tachi woman and presented to a member of my family for the purpose of warding off influenza.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10]

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops.

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten.

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs.

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10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokuts and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a conditioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are 153 accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed to understand the composition of their mental imagery, which had these things, and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

There is some suggestion in my materials and experience with Yokuts and Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the dream-helper animal once a constant relationship had been established between tutelary and protégé. Emotional pleasure, pride, and satisfaction ("security" perhaps) in the tutelary's benevolence, and anxiety over loss of this benevolence through either offense to the animal or of loss of the power to a malicious

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shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote).

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28]

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as: the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul-

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and teecae; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

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THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

787 To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

622 As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

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796 826 614 [787] The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[22]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Teineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[23]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony [755] during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did [782] not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[22] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[23] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

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624 171 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[80]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USE OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the [illegible] and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief[illegible] ir mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose [illegible] it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 787 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[80] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

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relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it.

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."[51]

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief."

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

[51] From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor.

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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

minimon	kiolin	notci
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yonina
going	we	?	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. He spoke to Motsa.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tokeluwic moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

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The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
626 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
671 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
262 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated property ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

182 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
773 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
829 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise